1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

host are present, food is served them in a room separate from that commonly occupied by the family. The host is present, but does not partake unless urged to do so by the guest. The host's wife appears only to bring in and take out the food, which she does as rapidly and unostentatiously as possible.

In regard to actual table manners, but a few points serve to distinguish the Riffian from the Arab usage. The Riffian washes his hands with hot water and soap and wipes them on a towel before eating, providing he has soap and a towel, otherwise he washes them with water and dries them on whatever piece of cloth will serve the purpose. After eating he rinses his hands and dries them. He does not indulge in the gargling and spitting practised by the Arabs while washing. He does not expectorate on the floor and walls as do Arabs, nor does he belch to show his appreciation of the meal. In the actual technique of eating, however, from the sacramental breaking of bread to the pouring of tea, little difference can be found, except that the Riffians use wooden spoons more and their hands less than do Arabs.

776 778 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall [681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is whole-
● 515 some to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same
789 vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a
778 wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with [754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama q-lil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [302] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [302] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. — Analyst]

716 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] /304/ Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

/305/ For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[184] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

/307/ The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

/308/ The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] /309/ Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

796 [182] The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic l-'ansara (l-ansra); and in Berber l'ansart (Shloh, Ait Warain), l'ansart (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), or t'ainsa (Temsaman).

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.

[185] On the evening of Midsummer day the Ait Waryager make in their yards fires with poplar (asafsaf) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap.

[187] Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are [188] frequently practised at Midsummer.

[515] [189] Among the Ait Waryager the people take their bath before sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean.

796 245 [190] "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one; dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Fahs, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees. This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, Blastophaga grossorum, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs. I was told by a scribe from the Rif that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (ariy; Ait Waryager), or pennyroyal (flaiyu; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rif Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang [754] oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (amgil) taken from the same place.

751 796 [192] The Ait Waryager on Midsummer day press the juice of a grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (dazubait).

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most
common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ijarādhen* (Arabic *bil-jard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches *(tharghe*, pl. *tharghiwīn)* and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rīf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

mary to arrange a fixed place beforehand for washing and bathing. Each *jamā'ath* (village, council of notables) works out and agrees on fines for infractions of water rights, particularly with regard to freedom of women; a small boy is stationed at a prudent distance from the women's section of the water, to keep men away (4).

It was Col. Blanco, in his magnificent analysis of Riffian customary law (5) (which has served as an invaluable aid to me in the collection of my own notes on the subject), who first called attention to the fact that in the Bay of Alhucemas, the primary ditches have secondary branches which only take up water for twenty-four hours; if there are four such secondary branches, each one only takes up water every four days. Secondary ditches in turn have tertiary branches, which take up water only during the day, or at night. The tertiary branches lead to the very small ditches of individuals, which take up water for a few hours only, these hours usually being determined by those of the daily prayers. Distribution of water is based on the tribal social structure: a *thārfiqth*, the fundamental social unit, receives water from a secondary ditch on a twenty-four hour basis, while a *jājghū* or patrilineal extended family within the *thārfiqth* may use only a tertiary ditch. If one of these family groups, during one turn, gets its water during the day, it will receive it at night in the following round, and the first in one turn will be the last in the next. All ditches are subject to communal maintenance and all the families who use them must help repair them after heavy rains have washed them out.

Water rights are still carefully regulated by the *'urf*, or unwritten customary law, and custom in respect to water channeled off from the Ghīs is different from that of the Nakūr, owing to the different nature of the rivers themselves. In the Bay of Alhucemas, the best land in the tribe, the flow of water in the lower course of the Ghīs, although slight, is nevertheless constant. The problem created by the Ghīs is that although today its volume has been artificially increased with new concrete beds for the primary ditches of Thafadhna, Bulma'iz and Libzimma, there would still not be enough water to go around if

(4) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 101.
(5) Blanco Izaga, 1939, passim.